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ABSTRACT

Issues and trends in criminal justice education are discussed in three papers. The first paper, "Issues and Trends in Criminal Justice Education: The Philosophy of Curriculum Development," by J. D. Jamieson, considers the logic underlying the assumptions made by academic generalists and training-oriented practitioners who influence curriculum development. The paper presents the case for the implementation of professional curricula, which require the integration of theoretical wisdom with technical skill at all levels of the educational process. In the second paper, "Issues and Trends in Higher Education for Police Officers," by David L. Carter, the development of three distinct generations of higher education in law enforcement is traced. Current issues in the police/college education debate are underscored, and trends and future prospects in law enforcement education are predicted. In the final paper Allen D. Sapp reviews "Issues and Trends in Police Professionalization." Sapp considers the origin of expressed needs for police professionalization. Also examined are sociological concepts of professions and the current state of police professionalism. Motives of the police in seeking professional status are examined. The trend in police occupational groups toward seeking professionalization is also cited. (Author/CSS)

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

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ISSUES AND TRENDS IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE EDUCATION

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The CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH is designed to provide interested citizens and professionals in the criminal justice field with a series of articles on the problems of crime and delinquency. The series includes both experimental studies and theoretical paper on problems in law enforcement, corrections, probation and parole, criminology, criminal law, forensic psychology and social welfare. The MONOGRAPH is not restricted to any particular philosophic approach to the prevention and control of crime and delinquency but encourages an eclectic discussion of all problems pertinent to the criminal justice system.

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FOREWORD

Criminal justice in an evolving form has traditionally merited the concern and attention of governments and societies. However, as an academic discipline it is new and emerging. Criminal justice education is still in its infant stage. While efforts at formal classroom police training and education in the United States date back to the turn of the century, it has only been during the past decade that criminal justice education in all three subsystems (law enforcement, courts, and corrections) has become the beneficiary of a much-needed infusion of resources. Consequently, much more has happened in criminal justice education and research in the last ten years than in the combined decades immediately before that.

As is endemic in any developing field, criminal justice and criminal justice education are beset with problems which call for better light through dialogue or debate. These controversial issues must be addressed because they are basic to the healthy growth of a young discipline. Criminal justice professionals disagree on such issues as whether criminal justice education should adopt a generalist or a training-oriented approach; the value of college education in the area of law enforcement; and the desirability of police professionalization. Some academicians and practitioners maintain that a generalist degree is superior to that which is training-oriented, hence the need to deemphasize the practical side of classroom teaching. Others argue that what is needed is better exposure to the "real world" of criminal justice, with emphasis on the "how to" rather than problem solving. The value of higher education, long blindly accepted by society, has been challenged in criminal justice. While most educators believe that the benefits of a college education in law enforcement are axiomatic, others maintain that its merits have not been quantitatively established and that at best the issue should be considered unresolved. Police professionalization has generated a lively debate, not only on the issue of an operational definition, but also the readiness of law enforcement personnel to respond to the demands of a truly professionalized organization.

The three papers in this monograph address the above concerns in an informative and descriptive manner. Each gives the reader a background of the issue, the relevant literature on it, the extent of the conflict, and then the writer's conclusion. Jay Jamieson's paper shuns adherence to either the generalist or the training-oriented model and instead opts for the "integration of the theoretical wisdom with technical skills at all levels of the educational process." David Carter concludes that studies thus far show contradictory results on the correlation between college education and police effectiveness. Nonetheless he observes that "regardless of its deficiencies, higher education for police officers appears to be a current and continuing trend in police development." Allen Sapp forecasts a continued trend towards police professionalization in the Weberian sense. He recognizes the legitimate claim of police officers for professionalization, a claim which may have high costs, but which must be met if society is to expect better police work.

These papers are published to provide the background and springboard for a continuing dialogue and discussion. It is hoped that they will provide fuel for new ideas which, if distilled together, might lead to wider awareness of and consensus on issues of common interest to all participants in the criminal justice process.

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Issues and Trends in Criminal Justice Education: The Philosophy of Curriculum Development

J. D. Jamieson

Abstract

The issues of optimum curricula in criminal justice higher education programs has traditionally reflected the conflict between the training-oriented practitioners and agency administrators on one hand, and the generalist approach advocates in academia on the other. The training advocates insist on curricula which address the skills necessary to improve performance as measured by specific indicators of success, for example, arrest rates, property recovery, clearance rates, and conviction rates. The generalist approach advocates assert that producing personnel with theoretical wisdom and a progressive "liberal arts" understanding of their environment is the key to the eventual upgrading of the Criminal Justice System as a whole. The action-oriented practitioner does not perceive the utility of the slow, contemplative methods of the academicians, who in turn does not consider the "pedestrian" aspects of technical expertise in his farsighted, generalist approach.

This paper purports to consider the logic underlying the assumptions made by the generalists and by the training advocates. The fundamental conclusion is that while the rationale of the trainers is pragmatic and clear, their vision for overall improvement of the Criminal Justice System is shortsighted. The generalists, on the other hand, have employed questionable logic in their insistence upon academic freedom in the emerging discipline of Criminal Justice.

The paper presents the case for the implementation of professional curricula, which require the integration of theoretical wisdom with technical skill at all levels of the educational process.

Introduction

During the 1960's, the reaction of American Society to the increasing levels of criminal activity in the United States reached the point where it became politically expedient, indeed necessary, for the nation's office holders to engage in some highly visible (and hopefully effective) activity directed toward the reduction of crime. The President of the United States gathered a number of experts on crime, and charged them with studying American's crime problem in detail. These men, appointed as the Presidents' Commission on Law Enforcement and The Administration of Justice, published in 1967 their findings concerning the weaknesses of the Criminal Justice System. The Commission gave careful consideration to optimum performance in various criminal justice occupations, and concluded that, in general, active criminal

justice personnel were not educated well enough to perform their duties satisfactorily. It was suggested that many practitioners lacked a progressive or "liberal arts" understanding of their environment, as well as necessary technical expertise. The solution, as reflected in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, was to provide encouragement for the education of large numbers of persons to work in the Criminal Justice System. The 1968 legislation provided for the disbursal of funds through the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP), as administered by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

By 1972, there were 87,000 criminal justice students participating in programs in 990 colleges and universities (Santarelli, 1974, pp. 20). These figures indicate that the

objective of educating large numbers of persons to work in the Criminal Justice System was being reached. However, 1973, The National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals reported that criminal justice agencies had generally failed to recruit those persons educated in the recently developed programs, and that the shortage of educationally qualified personnel still existed.

The National Advisory Committee observed that administrators of criminal justice agencies were reluctant to hire highly educated personnel. It seems that the important step of integrating the newly qualified personnel into the system had been mistakenly assumed to be the logical result of the educational process. The position of the administrators may be illustrated by hiring practices which are still utilized today. In the Texas Department of Corrections, all new employees (other than medical professional or secretarial employees) begin their careers at the entry level officer position. Graduates of college programs in Criminal Justice are hired no more readily than are high school graduates, and the college graduate has no reason to expect to advance more rapidly through the ranks. This situation, which is by no means unique to corrections in Texas, would indicate that criminal justice administrators, particularly those individuals who are responsible for bringing new personnel into the Criminal Justice System, do not generally feel that higher education programs produce better criminal justice employees. Perhaps they do not find any practical utility in the coursework offered in college programs, or it could be that they are apprehensive that highly educated employees will question traditional operating procedures and upset the status quo. Entry level pay scales are rarely commensurate with the expectations of college graduates. In sum, criminal justice administrators do not generally make their agencies attractive to college graduates.

As a result of government funding (and pressure) many agencies offer pay incentives to in-service employees for increasing their levels of education. Once again, however, the practical utility of college curricula has been suspect. Leonard Territo discussed this issue in detail in a recent article (Territo, 1976, pp. 26). Territo accurately describes the significant philosophical, operational, and political differences which exist between the law enforcement community and the academic community. The law enforcement community is, of course, action oriented, and as such prefers academic curricula which are directly addressed to improving performance in areas which are viewed as measures of police success, i.e., arrest rates, conviction rates, clearance rates, and recovering property. Police administrators and in-service police students generally do not view coursework which is not directly applicable to these measures of success to be of significant value.

The academic community, on the other hand, measures success in terms of scholarly research and publica-

tion, (Territo, 1976, pp. 28) and thus adheres to a slow, contemplative method of problem solving. The concepts of academic freedom and maintenance of academic standards have traditionally kept subjects such as law enforcement and corrections out of academia's ivory tower, since these subjects have been viewed as "pedestrian", or academically anemic.

As we have seen, however, money opened the college doors for criminal justice programs and by 1974, there were over 1000 colleges and universities in which the conflict of expectations between academic and criminal justice agencies took place. Territo characterized the resultant "bi-directional cultural shock" as follows:

The police officer brought into the classroom a concern about a myriad of urban problems to which he wanted answers or at least some alternative solutions. The academician, on the other hand, was too frequently ill-prepared or not inclined to deviate or modify traditional lecture material, even in those courses which possessed the potential for addressing community problems. **But part of it also stemmed from a complete lack of any real knowledge about the types of problems his law enforcement students encountered and the kinds of knowledge that they needed to function most effectively in their work.** (Territo, 1976, pp. 28)

Thus, from the practitioner's perspective, the issue of the nature of criminal justice curricula is quite simple. University programs don't directly apply to their performance on the streets.

The programs which do emphasize specialized technical skills have been classified by Charles Tenney as "training curricula" (Tenney, 1971). These programs resemble the academy-type training programs of large police departments and corrections agencies, and are found almost exclusively at the junior college level; very rarely at the baccalaureate level. The academic community generally attaches very little importance to the training curricula, on the grounds that "vocational" programs do not meet the primary function of higher education, which is to broaden the liberal arts perspectives and environmental understanding of the students.

From the academic point of view, Don C. Gibbons and Gerald Blake maintain that criminal justice higher education must serve to produce individuals who have the ability to "grapple with larger social trends in American society, and their implications for criminal justice" (Gibbons and Blake, 1975, pp. 4). Gibbons and Blake state that the criminal justice practitioner needs to acquire, **above all else**, theoretical wisdom from his educational experience. This "generalist" approach to higher education is summed up by Richard Myren in his study of higher educational institutions in California:

Both the pragmatic needs of the Criminal Justice System, and the intellectual demands of academic programming require that crime related programs in higher education **cease to be agency oriented**, and become system oriented. This means a phasing out of narrowly police and corrections centered programs and the development of criminal justice programs. Only efforts with this broader focus are both academically viable and capable of meaningful involvement with the real world of Criminal Justice System design and management" (Myren, 1970, pp. 98).

The polarization of viewpoints on the nature of criminal justice curricula is easy to comprehend. The agency administrators and practitioners insist that coursework be highly related to job performance, and charge that traditional, academic approaches to criminal justice education forsake the knowledge necessary for problem solving in "real world" situations. The academicians, espousing the generalist (or Social Science as Tenney phrases it) approach, make the age old assumption that the world outside academia is unaware of or incapable of considering, the long range profits of innovation and integrated thought. Under the logic of the generalist, the system will be ultimately integrated and perfected by educating persons to have a broad theoretical and liberal arts understanding of society in general, and of criminal justice in particular.

It is clear that neither a strictly generalist approach, nor a strictly training approach to criminal justice education will ever satisfy the perceived need for practitioners who have the ability to apply superior technical skills in a manner based on theoretical wisdom and a "liberal arts" understanding of the immediate situation. This is what we would like to see in the future, however. We would like to have policemen, correctional officers, administrators, etc., who have mastered the skills and technology of their professions, and who apply this expertise to the American community in a manner consistent with theoretical wisdom in the behavioral sciences and a progressive understanding of the environment.

There are a number of reasons why we are unable to create criminal justice curricula which would produce this ideal practitioner in mass quantities. The first, and most prohibitive reason is that, as the behavioral sciences are as yet in the formative stages, there is no general consensus concerning the wisdom of our theories. The empirical validations of our theoretical structures are tenuous at best. Thus we have no specific, accepted, workable body of knowledge about which to suggest an integration of technical expertise. The in-service criminal justice student, who perhaps is in possession of considerable technical expertise, learns about our diverse theories, and is left to integrate his technical and theoretic-

cal knowledge as best he can. We are unable to provide a curriculum which will accomplish this integration, from either a generalist or training perspective. The problem, as Gerald Lynch states, "is particularly difficult because we do not have a clear picture, more or less agreed upon by experts in the field, of what we should educate an individual to do" (Lynch, 1976, pp. 65).

The second major problem in producing a curriculum which purports to produce the ideal practitioner is the enormous diversity which characterizes both one Criminal Justice System (or non-System) as well as our existing programs of higher education in criminal justice. The National Advisory Commission of 1967 alluded to the problems inherent in measuring the effects of higher education in view of the variability of the programs. Other writers such as Larry Hoover (1975) and Calvin Swank (1975, pp. 217) provide evidence that the differences among existing programs are large enough to produce significant variability in the performance capabilities of the graduates, and hence, the value of criminal justice higher education must be measured in terms of each individual program separately. In view of the variability between existing programs, the difficulty in assessing the effects of generalist-type programs, and the diversity, of goals, philosophies, needs, and expectations, which exists throughout all phases of criminal justice education and criminal justice subsystems, it should be clear that neither a generalist nor training approach to criminal justice education will result in the desired improvement of criminal justice manpower across the board.

A reconciliation of some sort needs to occur between the trainers and generalists if the Criminal Justice System as a whole is to benefit from higher education.

The Case for Professional Curricula

Public service agencies, like their private enterprise counterparts, are held accountable for the quality of the products which they deliver to the community. Private enterprise suffers in terms of profit, or may be forced out of business, if the quality of their product is dubious. Public service agencies have to pay for their shortcomings in product quality also, as we have seen in the effects of the recent trials of erring Houston policemen. They are criticized for low production in areas such as arrest rates, conviction rates, and rehabilitation rates. Since they are accountable for the performance of their employees, it is difficult to avoid justifying their demand for new employees who have been educated in highly relevant, utilizable subject areas. The degree to which agency administrators consider current college curricula to be relevant and utilizable is reflected in the hiring practices mentioned earlier, wherein high school graduates and college graduates embark upon careers in the same entry level job, with the same pay and same possibility for advancement.

Universities, on the other hand, are traditionally not held accountable for any failure of their graduates to obtain employment, or for inadequate performance by graduates after they obtain employment. Academia has never had to engage in any systematic market analysis in order to determine the numbers of graduates they should produce in particular areas, or the specific nature of the qualifications or skills that a graduate should possess to insure his success in his prospective occupation. John K. Hudzik explains the main reason behind the capacity of academic to divorce itself from "market forces" (Hudzik, 1976, pp. 186). He observes that as long as only a small minority of the population had the ways and means to attend college, the baccalaureate degree was "the magic key to preferable kinds of employment." Employers were able to utilize the degree as a screening device to insure that they were hiring intelligent, conscientious personnel. Hudzik maintains that now it is no longer a small minority of the population which attends college, and the B.A. degree has thus been "devalued" as a screening device (Hudzik, 1976, pp. 188). This is particularly true in criminal justice, since LEAA provides monetary means for huge numbers of persons to pursue degrees. The employers must use other screening devices to insure that they are hiring quality personnel. Apparently, as far as some administrators are concerned, the current curricula do not provide the graduate with additional marketable skills.

Academicians should be compelled to recognize the logic in the administrator's point of view, and at the same time, should remain aware of the importance of theoretical wisdom and liberal arts perspectives in their relevance to improving the Criminal Justice System. The concept of intellectual freedom, which is employed to insulate academia from the "baser, shortsighted understandings of society at large" should share the spotlight in curricula development with the logic of market dynamics. (Hudzik, 1976, pp. 187) In this regard, Gerald Lynch states:

The fundamental dilemma in devising a curriculum is the need to devise a specified body of knowledge which can be organized into a relevant...curriculum which, on the one hand, will provide a broad general education and, on the other hand, will educate a person to **do something**, that is, will provide both growth and expertise (Lynch, 1976, pp. 65).

The dichotomy of generalist and training approaches to criminal justice education may be partially reconciled by the idea of professional curricula (Tenney, 1971). Charles Tenney, as pointed out by Beto and Marsh in their article concerning the problems involved in developing criminal justice educational programs, has made several important distinctions between professional curricula and other types (Beto and Marsh, 1974, pp. 34-40). First, the func-

tion of the education process from the professional perspective is to supply the broad liberal arts background, and then to supplement this cognitive learning with **practical experience**. The technical expertise necessary to perform the specific job is still largely the responsibility of the individual agency, but the student, through the academic requirements attendant to his practical experience (or internship) with the agency, is compelled to integrate his cognitive knowledge with the technical knowledge provided by the agency. Hence, he is compelled, ideally, by the academic institution to form associations between theoretical precepts and agency objectives.

With regard to human behavior and human interaction, professional curricula accept completely the idea that knowledge and expertise in these areas are highly important to the improvement of criminal justice personnel. The study of, and more importantly, the **practice** of theoretical concepts in human behavior and interaction are emphasized in the effort to integrate cognitive learning into practical usage.

Professional curricula, with the emphasis on practical application built into the design of the coursework, may be seen to avoid the primary shortcomings of both the training approach and the generalist approach. Technical training remains the responsibility of the operating agency, and thus domination of the curriculum by vocational-type courses which may "serve to reinforce the parochial concepts prevalent in the field" is avoided (American Bar Association, 1968, pp. 218). At the same time, the integration of cognitive learning with practical experiences serves to avoid the tendency of generalist programs to concentrate on producing graduates who are primarily equipped to teach in other generalist programs.

Beto and Marsh expound in some detail upon the importance of internships to the effectiveness of professional curricula and to criminal justice education in general (Beto and Marsh, 1974, pp. 38). Internships, as well as workshops and courses designed in close cooperation with agencies, serve to educate the practicing agency personnel, and the college faculty involved, as well as the student. Practical and theoretical knowledge is integrated at all levels. Internships should be present in all levels of the educational process, and should be conducted with extensive interaction between the faculty, student, and agency personnel. The difficulty in understanding the "extreme complexity and fragmentation" of the criminal justice system is alleviated, not only for the student, but for educators and practitioners as well (Beto and Marsh, 1974, pp. 38).

A properly developed professional curriculum, then, would serve to meet the objective of producing criminal justice personnel with integrated knowledge and progressive perspectives in a threefold manner. The interactive curricula would educate the educators in the condition of the "real world", afford the practitioner some exposure to theoretical applicability, and finally, produce

a graduate with marketable and relevant skills, and the ability to apply these skills in a manner based upon theoretical wisdom and cognitive knowledge.

Certainly it would be overly optimistic to suppose that professional curricula could be universally adopted and flawlessly administered, and that the results would be as rewarding to the Criminal Justice System as the preceding paragraph indicated they might be. But in light of the simple logic involved, questions must be asked about why professional type curricula were not designed into the large numbers of new criminal justice programs as they were being developed. Beto and Marsh provide two good reasons, the first being the lack of specificity provided by LEAA in their guidelines for program design.

(1) Each course shall be approved by the regular curriculum-approving body of the institution, e.g., by the student-faculty senate, the curriculum committee, the State Board of Regents, etc., and shall be creditable toward a catalog-listed academic degree or certificate.

(2) Each class shall be open to all students. The scheduling of two identical classes for the same course does not satisfy the requirement if one class serves preservice students and the other serves in-service students.

(3) The instructor shall have full-time or part-time faculty status at the institution, be paid by the institution, and possess required credentials comparable to those of instructors in other academic fields offered at the institution. The use of qualified guest lecturers is not precluded, provided the major responsibility for the course rests with the qualified faculty member or record.

(4) Transferability of credits is required. At least 80 percent of all credits shall be applicable towards bachelor's degrees offered by regionally accredited institution. Training programs and courses prohibited. Basic recruit and in-service training programs shall not be supported by LEEP funds even though the institution may offer credit or credit equivalency is given, it shall not be considered as part of the student's academic load in determining full-time status for loan eligibility (U.S. Department of Justice, 1973, pp. 5-6).

As Beto and Marsh maintain, new programs have only vague guidelines from which program design can be developed (Beto and Marsh, 1974, pp. 35). The result has been the development of programs according to the proclivities of individuals at each institution, and subsequently, a wide disparity among programs.

A second, and related, reason concerns the generic nature of the "body of knowledge" around which criminal justice education is structured. Since criminal justice

programs draw upon other existing disciplines for their coursework, new departments tend to emphasize particular disciplines (law, sociology, political science, etc.) depending upon the political situation at the institution when the programs are formed.

With the lack of definitive guidelines, and the generic nature of the subject matter, it is easy to see why uniformity of the nature and objectives of criminal justice educational programs has been an impossibility. If any consensus and uniformity is to be achieved in the future, it will be the result of specified re-organizational guidelines produced by LEAA (or whoever holds the purse strings) and cannot depend upon uniformity of thought in the academic sphere.

Beto and Marsh limited their treatment of professional curricula to undergraduate study in their article. It is suggested that the use of professional curricula is highly desirable at the masters and doctoral levels as well. Certainly the pre-service student benefits greatly from internship experience and the overall emphasis on integrating theory and practice in his quest to understand the diversity and complexity of the Criminal Justice System. However, as the depth of theoretical conceptualization increases with graduate study, the aspect of applying theory to actual practice becomes all the more important. If the practical operations of criminal justice agencies are to some day function in accordance with wisdom of theoretical concepts and liberal arts perspectives of society, it is important that persons preparing for high level administrative responsibilities, and particularly persons who are preparing to teach others about the criminal justice system, have a detailed knowledge of the integration of cognitive and technical knowledge.

Perhaps the elusive "body of knowledge" which we seek to establish as being unique to the criminal justice discipline will consist of this knowledge of application.

Conclusions

During the Renaissance Period of the history of western civilization, there was a great advance in the field of architecture, and a great flourishing of the arts. In academia, however, there was little advance, primarily because academicians remained under the control of the rulers. Academic endeavor was confined to metaphysical philosophy. The rulers backed their policies and ambitions with their divine rights, which were reinforced by members of the church who shared in the power structure. The rulers had political freedom and could establish and enforce laws according to their will. Since the authority of God was on the ruler's side, his actions were thought to be wise and in the best interest of mankind. To question him was heresy. Political science, and other subject areas which might make assumptions about the activities of rulers were not found as part of academia.

The French *philosophes* (or French atheists) were among the first to question the appeal to divine authority

as a legitimate structure of government and law. Jean-Jacques Rousseau began his theories of social and political reform by demanding that the claims to power of the Renaissance rulers be examined in the clear light of reason and logic. The Age of Enlightenment was ushered in with these demands, and it was soon proved that the philosophical endeavors of academia could indeed be highly pertinent to the realities of social life.

There is a distant but very real analogy which may be seen to exist between the political freedom exercised by the rulers of old, and the academic freedom as exercised by the academicians of the emerging discipline of Criminal Justice.

In the first place, both the rulers and the new academicians make the claim that their respective forms of freedom are justified by the base and shortsighted understandings of the general populace outside of their sphere.

In the second place, both make a promise based upon an intangible principle. The proponents of academic freedom in Criminal Justice education make the promise that concentration on theoretical wisdom (and discounting "pedestrian" skills) will eventually fill the system with efficient practitioners who are able to "grapple with larger social trends" and the attending implications (Gibbons and Blake, 1975, pp. 4).

It is suggested that we could use some enlightenment here. We need to examine the assumptions underlying academic freedom for the criminal justice discipline in Rousseau's clear light of reason.

Criminal Justice, as an academic discipline, has the time-critical challenge of upgrading the various elements of the system. The massive funding available for the development of new programs has been laid out for that purpose. The discipline of the English language for example, does not have such a challenge, and is thus able to afford academic freedom. American taxpayers will never have to cough up funds to combat spiraling rates of bad grammar, nor will citizens have to barricade their doors against incorrect poetry interpretation. The Criminal Justice System does not have the time to wait for slow, uncertain solutions. It is unreasonable, also, to ignore the compelling logic of the agency heads who demand relevance between coursework and job performance. Their justification is clear. If they are to hire graduates of criminal justice education programs more readily or at higher salaries than anyone else, these graduates should be of greater value to the operation of the agency.

The criminal justice student has a legitimate gripe against academic freedom in this particular discipline. He should be able to expect some increase in his marketability after long years of study. If the criminal justice graduate must compete for criminal justice jobs on equal terms with high school graduates, there is something wrong. Man cannot live by theoretical wisdom alone.

The tradition of academic freedom has allowed academicians in the emerging discipline of Criminal Jus-

tice to teach those subjects with which they are most comfortable, and has allowed the subjects to be taught from a perspective which may not be at all applicable to the needs of the criminal justice practitioner. Hudzik asserts that universities have used their inherited academic freedom as a means to avoid reality, and as a tool to protect the "prejudice of a faculty ill-informed and uninterested in doing the nitty-gritty work of being relevant" (Hudzik, 1976, pp. 187). The ultimate utility of the strictly generalist approach is a vague promise at best, and is to be seriously questioned before it is accepted as the primary methodology for criminal justice education. Certainly the "systems-thinking" element is essential in criminal justice curricula, if the existing subsystems are ever to jell into a true and integrated system. However, systems thinking cannot replace productivity and practical expertise. If academia is to be successful in precipitating a qualitative increase in the operation of our system, it is necessary for our educators to become true generalists, in the sense that they develop the capacity to integrate the theoretical and conceptual with the practical, technical, and immediately utilizable. This is the responsibility of academia and of academicians, not of graduates or practitioners. The development of professional curricula, as described earlier with emphasis upon the integration of cognitive and technical learning at all stages of the educational process, is the logical way to meet this responsibility.

Trends for the Future

The idea of professional curricula is by no means a new idea. Many contemporary writers, to include Egon Bittner, (Bittner, 1970) Jack Kuykendall and Armand Hernandez, (Kuykendall and Hernandez, 1975) and John Matthews (Matthews, 1975) to name only a few, have argued for the development of professional curricula, and seem to call for the abandonment of the ivory tower in criminal justice education.

It must be remembered; however, that the existing academic programs are extremely diverse, both in terms of curriculum philosophy, and in terms of emphasis on various subject areas. There exists also, considerable diversity in the intentions of individual professors within departments, and between persons who wield influence over academic programs. The criminal justice academic community (much like the criminal justice community per se) is not a cohesive body by any means, in terms of ideology and emphasis. Under such conditions, the academic community may hardly be expected to lead the charge for solidification of the entire Criminal Justice System.

It is not really feasible to believe that the universities will, on their own initiative, begin to apply the principles of market economy to their policy making in the future, and unless there is an outside force which compels them

to do so, academia for criminal justice will remain unresponsive to the particular needs of the system, and to the marketability of the graduate. There will continue to be the feeling, on the part of energy administrators, that the higher education programs produce graduates who must be re-educated before they can do the job.

It is suggested that criminal justice higher education programs will necessarily become accountable to the needs of the criminal justice system, and to the needs of society, in the future. It is possible that the programs will face extinction if they don't become accountable. The much-maligned LEAA could compel the programs to develop more pragmatic curricula by use of their control over funding. This would presuppose, however, that LEAA had the ability to develop well defined guidelines and had a clear picture of what they were trying to accomplish.

In any case, professional curricula are the answer to the concern for accountability, marketability of graduates,

development of a unique body of criminal justice knowledge, and generally upgrading the system. As Dr. Beto and Mr. Marsh maintain:

This total concept of the professional degree program in criminal justice is the type of curriculum necessary to produce the best possible personnel for the field. Traditional education, steeped in theory with little practical emphasis, will not produce the type of person needed to solve the man-power problem in criminal justice. Neither can a program which solely emphasizes technique serve as a model for upgrading personnel. Priority must be given to developing integrated models which will produce a professional - a person who can deal with the complexities which vitally confront the criminal justice system (1974).

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Issues and Trends in Higher Education for Police Officers

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Abstract

Higher education in law enforcement can be traced through three distinct generations of development. Each generation established trends and experienced growth which has affected subsequent stages of development in classroom preparation for police officers.

Current issues in the police/college education debate center around the need for academic experience, the true effect of higher education on police performance, ramifications of a college educated police force, and whether or not higher education should be a minimum requirement for police employment. Studies have been cited which show contradictory results of these issues. It is recognized that higher education is not a panacea and that it does have its legitimate criticisms for law enforcement.

Regardless of its deficiencies, higher education for police officers appears to be a current and continuing trend in police development. Its true role and parameters, however, are still subject to consensual determination. The future of law enforcement education is speculated to include greater specialization, particularly in technical areas; greater utilization of techniques from other disciplines; greater embodiment of the liberal arts orientation in criminal justice curricula; minimum requirement of the baccalaureate degree for entry level positions with an increase in the proportion of police officers with Master's and Ph.D. Degrees; and creation of a postgraduate school for the police.

Introduction

The qualifications for a police officer have been many and varied over the tenuous history of law enforcement. In 1904 Chief Bennett of the Braddock, Pennsylvania Police Department, addressed the 11th Annual IACP Convention promulgating the ideal qualifications of a police officer. Among the requisites were bravery, morality, decisiveness, and a "tendency to not habit saloons" (Dilworth, 1976, p. 33). The debate concerning police qualifications has continued stressing such attributes as physical agility, character, independence, intelligence, psychological stability, and education. It is this last category which is the subject of this paper.

Debate has persisted on the role of education in law enforcement. Such questions have been asked as: How much education is needed to police society? Does higher education improve the police service? What approach should be taken in police education—generalist, specialist, vocational, liberal arts, or a combination? Should there be differing educational requirements for various police responsibilities and levels of organizational authority?

The reader will find that none of these questions will be conclusively answered in this paper. Although there have been studies completed, recommendations made, and speculation postulated, there has been no empirical evidence substantiated by intersubjective reliability which "proves" the role of education policing. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to trace the trends in police education to evaluate where it has been, where it is, and where it is going. The literature surveyed herein will provide a foundation on the "great education debate" to allow the reader to draw his own conclusion on the state of higher education in law enforcement.

It is reasonable to assume that there is a dominant school of thought which postulates that higher education is the panacea of police efficacy which may be realized in the future. However, both within and outside this school the dichotomous variables remain. Hence, what follows is a survey of views expressing the admixture of thought on the "issues and trends of higher education for police officers."

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Education (and training) in law enforcement has had a rather unstable growth except for the last decade or so. Previously, training for police officers was sporadic, minimal, and scarce. Although higher education was available, its potential was not really recognized until the early 1960's.

First Generation of Police Education

The earliest force in police classroom training came from the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) formed in 1891 as the National Chiefs of Police Union (LEAA, 1976, p. 21). Although their initial purpose was to serve as a clearinghouse for criminal records, their service expanded into many areas, including police training. Although the IACP's training was vocational in nature it served as an underlying factor in the development of academic programs by drawing attention to the need of formal preparation for police officers.

The first formal training school for policemen was established in 1908 by August Vollmer at Berkeley, California (ACJS, 1975). Within the next few years police departments in New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia followed Vollmer's lead and established academies and training schools to prepare their police officers. In 1916 the University of California at Berkeley created the first university level police training school which eventually led to the creation of that school's criminology program; once again, the influence of August Vollmer was significant in this development. [Interestingly, Vollmer became professor emeritus at Berkeley and lectured at various colleges and universities across the nation as well as authoring several books on law enforcement although he never earned a college degree.]

Two other developments in police education worthy of note occurred within this same time frame. In 1915 Raymond Fosdick's book *European Police Systems* was published which, among other recommendations, strongly advocated police training programs and suggested types of instruction officers should receive prior to working in the police function (LEAA, 1976, p. 22). Fosdick also noted the superiority of the English policing system and officer preparation particularly since Peelian Reform in 1829 (Germann, 1973, pp. 60-61).

By 1920 a group called the International Association of Policewomen (IAP), founded in 1915, "was encouraging its women and policewomen candidates to seek college educations" (LEAA, 1976, p. 22). Their emphasis was oriented toward a liberal arts education with the postulate that such preparation would better assist them in police performance. (It should be noted that at this time policewomen were assigned almost exclusively to juvenile units, "women's units", and detention facilities.)

Second Generation of Police Education

Through the next decade few innovations in police education and training surfaced except for sporadic new training academies. However, a new generation of police education was beginning. In 1929 the University of Chicago developed the first university curriculum for police training (Wickersham Commission, 1931, pp. 82-83) followed by the University of California at Berkeley in 1930 with its first degree program in "police science" (ACJS, 1975).

In 1931 the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (known as the Wickersham Commission) issued its fifteen volume report on the state of law enforcement in America. In its report on the police, the Commission stated that "the greatest promise for the future in policing is the college or university." The report goes on to recommend a college curriculum in police science which leads to an associate's degree as well as the establishment of minimum training requirements, both of which "must inevitably be adopted if our police systems are to cope with the crime conditions of today" (Wickersham Commission, 1931, p. 139).

Beginning in the 1930's the police experienced a significant influx of college graduates, the influence of which began to alter the quality of policing. Unfortunately, this change was not the result of progressive police administration but the impact of the depression wherein many college graduates could find no other employment and turned to policing; largely as a last resort (Goldstein, 1977, p. 294). A similar phenomenon also occurred after World War II when a large number of returning veterans, many with a college education, flooded the civilian job market; a job market which had actually declined because of decreased production no longer needed for the war effort. Once again, many degree holders were forced into a law enforcement career.

After the war, educational levels for the police and the number of upper level institutions offering law enforcement programs both steadily increased. During this period few revelations in police education occurred; however, this was to change in 1967.

Third Generation of Police Education

The decade of the 1960's saw turmoil and change in American society. Factors such as the "youth rebellion", changing attitudes toward the use of drugs, assassinations, the Viet Nam conflict, new directions in civil rights, mass rioting in our cities, and a liberal Supreme Court, all had some effect on the Criminal Justice System; and consequently on the police (Wilson, 1975, pp. 3-11). It was a combination of these factors and a rising crime rate which prompted two significant events: First was issuance of a series of reports by the President's Commis-

sion on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in February, 1967. Second was the passage by congress of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968* (Wilson, *Police Administration*, 1977, pp. 12-13).

With respect to police education, the President's Commission expressed an impending need for police officers with academic experience. According to the **Task Force Report: The Police**, their position postulated that:

Police personnel with two or four years of college education should have a better appreciation of people with different racial, economic, and cultural backgrounds or, at the least, should have the innate ability to acquire such understanding. Studies support the proposition that well-educated persons are less prejudiced toward minority groups than the poorly educated (p. 163).

The Commission also expressed their belief that the university prepared officer would be more capable of rational, intelligent decision making and would be more judicious in fulfilling the multivariate functions of the police role. This position led to the Commission's recommendation that:

The ultimate aim of all police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees (*Challenge of Crime*, 1967, p. 109).

Furthermore, the Commission noted a negligible trend leading toward this goal. They observed that:

No doubt many police administrators will, at first glance, consider this recommendation of the Commission so radical as to be unattainable. Let them consider the fact that the median education level for all policemen in the United States [as of 1967] is 12.4 years, which indicates that many policemen already have done some college work. It is this trend that the Commission believes should be sharply accelerated (*Challenge of Crime*, 1976, p. 110).

With the passage of the Crime Control Act in the following year, the educational trend began its process of realization. For purposes of the current discussion, the new law had two salient features: (1) It provided for the

*Although other laws such as the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965 and various other reports had been made either previously or concomitantly, these two events remain unquestionably the most influential.

dispersal of monies to colleges and universities for the development of law enforcement/criminal justice degree programs, and (2) the Act established the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) as a means to either defer or compensate educational costs for those whose career path was within the Criminal Justice System (Swaton and Morgan, 1975, pp. 288-289). The LEEP program has been a successful incentive in terms of stimulating the growth of higher education in law enforcement. Legitimate accusations have been made, however, that the LEEP program has been prostituted by grantees whose only interest in the project is economic gain and by institutional participants whose hunger for students and financial support cause them to create educational programs which are little more than vocational training. Nonetheless, the stimulus provided by LEEP has had a significant impact on the mean educational level of police officers in the United States (Burrow, 1977). The question now remaining is to determine what effect, if any, the increased level of education has had on police performance.

In 1973 the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (NAC) issued their report on the Criminal Justice System and its future development. The Commission chastised the police for their low educational requirements and general failure to pursue the college graduate for law enforcement employment. More specifically, the NAC stated:

Police agencies have lost ground in the race for highly qualified employees because they have not raised standards. College graduates look elsewhere for employment. Police work has often come to be regarded by the public as a second class occupation, open to anyone with no more than a minimum education [and] average intelligence. . . . (*Police*, 1973, p. 367).

Citing the recommendations of the 1967 President's Commission and observing that they had not yet been met (although it was noted the level of police education had increased), the NAC established various minimum entry level educational requirements. Among the prescribed standards, the Commission stated that every police agency should require two years of college education by 1975; three years by 1978; and a baccalaureate degree by 1982. Among other recommendations the NAC specified that police departments should establish educational incentive pay, extensive police recruiting should be done at college campuses, and "a national body comprised of educators, police, and other criminal justice administrators be formed immediately to establish curriculum guidelines for police educational programs" (NAC, 1973, pp. 372 and 378).

• In this same year the American Bar Association (ABA)

published a comparative analysis of the NAC's recommendations and the ABA's Standards for Criminal Justice. The Bar noted that both models were consistent in principle with respect to police education. Additionally, the ABA recommended that:

Communities should support further educational achievement on the part of the police . . .

[moreover] . . . Individuals aspiring to careers in police agencies and those currently employed as police officers should be encouraged to advance their education at the college level. [Furthermore], . . . police departments should initiate or expand . . . student intern programs which subsidize the education . . . of potential police candidates (ABA, 1973, p. 70).

Law enforcement education has expanded in size and scope far beyond the expectations of most of its early proponents, although not to the degree expressed by the previously cited recommendations (Matthews, 1977, p. 1). Nonetheless, the college-level educational programs in criminal justice have thus far had a readily observable and essentially favorable impact on the administration of justice (Senna, 1974, pp. 389-404). The issues in criminal justice/police education are multifaceted. Debate continues on the wisdom of LEEP/appropriations, the role of the junior college versus the four year college in police education, the content and nature of a law enforcement curriculum, and the true impact higher education has had on policing America. A synthesis of these issues will be presented in the next section of this paper to more accurately describe the current and projected state of police education.

Before proceeding, the writer perceives the necessity of placing the phenomenon of education into perspective. Many discussions of educational value are framed in a utopian paradigm. The underlying presumption, particularly by laymen, is that higher education is a panacea to all social ills; an omnipotent presence which guides all thought and practice in nature. The writer contends that for the true value of higher education in law enforcement to be realized, it must be placed in a conceptual framework of realism; for it is the "real world" within which the police officer must practice his profession. That is to say, law enforcement deals with human variables in conflict resolution; thus, the officer's educational experience must receive realistic input. This is not to be confused with the academic/vocational issue of educational curricula, but rather a perspective of the true role in the academic socialization process. Perhaps this condescending enigma is best summarized by C. W. Tenney (1971) in his report *Higher Education Programs in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice*. Tenney states:

And so it is that once again we find ourse-

lves spending millions of dollars to obtain a product the nature of which is quite uncertain, to achieve goals which remain at best dimly perceived and delineated . . . But how much more satisfying it would be in the long run were we now to address the hard questions, specifying what it is we need and expect from higher education and for whom, understanding the while that higher education by no means is valueless but neither is it a panacea. It should not promise what it cannot provide.

Thus, when conceiving of police educational criteria, one must recognize not only its potential, but also its limitations.

CURRENT ISSUES AND FACTORS IN POLICE EDUCATION

The Need for Higher Education in Policing

As has thus far been noted, higher education and law enforcement have developed a strong bond, the precise nature of that bond, however, is yet to be determined. Perhaps a clearer understanding of the police/education relationship will attune the reader to current issues in police education as well illustrate the continuing trend of development.

The college/police marriage, according to Niederhoffer and Blumberg (1976), has three variables which must be kept in perspective when debating any aspect of the issue. First, higher education has traditionally been the one institution to which society has turned for assistance in the solution of its major problems. Since crime has developed as one of the most serious problems perceived by the community (Wilson, 1975, pp. 22-23) it was thus only reasonable that input from academia would be sought. Second, the involvement of higher education in the field of human problem solution is in its infancy. Most of the problems academia has traditionally approached have been in the physical sciences or that of basic research. However, application of the scientific approach to social problems has become much more utilitarian with the increased concern of crime. Third, the involvement of higher education with criminal justice to any significant degree is a post-1960 phenomenon. As pointed out previously, this is a consequent of available funding, national commission reports, and the maturation of these variables increasing the interaction of higher education and criminal justice.

To be truly effective in law enforcement, the police officer should have an understanding of how his role interrelates with others working in criminal justice. In addition, it is equally important that the police officer have a realistic understanding of how society perceives

him and what it expects of him. In order to accomplish these goals, university level education is sorely needed (Shenkman, 1974, p. 67). Furthermore, according to Lynch (1976, p. 65), higher education can help a person look at alternatives, examine the solutions of others, pose the choices more clearly, and critically discuss courses of action. For the law enforcement officer, this is particularly important as the educational experience takes place outside of the pressured day-to-day situation of this "real world" and the influence of a particular department's attitudes leaving the officer with a more impartial and solid base of reasoning on which to apply the decision making process.

Within this same frame of reference, the American Bar Association stated in their publication *The Urban Police Function* that:

Police agencies need personnel in their ranks who have the characteristics which a college education seeks to foster: intellectual curiosity, analytical ability, articulateness, and a capacity to relate the events of the day to the social, political, and historical context in which they occur (1973, p. 212).

Bittner pursues this point more emphatically by stating:

What the recruitment of college graduates will accomplish . . . is to impel the occupation in the direction of becoming a social mechanism functioning at the level of complexity, sophistication, and responsibility, commensurate with the quality of the problems it is meant to meet (1970, p. 36).

The need of academic preparation for the police has thus been hypothesized to cover a broad spectrum of factors. In addition to those reasons previously cited, Germann (1957, pp. 22-24) expressed the belief that increased police education is necessary to improve the professional status of law enforcement while Saunders (1970, p. 92) felt that the most compelling argument for raising educational standards for police is the constantly rising educational level of the overall population.

Trojanowicz and Nicholson (1976) chose to view the need of police education in a different manner. From a sample of 1,700 sworn peace officers they compared the "profiles" of college graduates to noncollege personnel. Significant results concluded that the non-college officer is more susceptible to routine behavior, more aggressive toward belligerent persons, desires to work under greater supervision, and values himself according to how successfully he has conformed to the role requirements of the organization.

Conversely, the college graduate, when compared to his noncollege counterpart, was found to be more willing

to participate in innovative projects, prefers to assume a leadership role, is more precise and methodical in decision making, prefers a variety of work situations rather than routine ones, and finally, he values himself by his "achievement of the status symbols established by his culture" (Trojanowicz and Nicholson, 1976, p. 58).

As can readily be seen, there are a multitude of reasons which can be cited to support the college education requirements for police officers. Perhaps the sum of this perspective was best expressed by Quinn Tamm. He stated:

. . .the campus must be looked to for the police officers of the future. It is nonsense to state or assume that the enforcement of the law is so simple a task that it can be done best by those unencumbered by inquiry in minds nurtured by the study of the liberal arts. The man who goes into our streets in hopes of regulating, directing, or controlling human behavior must be armed with more than a gun . . . Such men as these engage in the difficult and complex . . . task of human behavior. Their intellectual armament—so long restricted to the minimum—must be no less than their physical prowess . . . (Tamm, 1905, p. 6).

Criticisms of Higher Education for the Police

Total agreement does not exist that the college educated policeman will be an asset to his department and the community. Although this view represents a minority position, there are nevertheless reasonable reservations worthy of reflection. Some studies, although contradictory, have value in that they represent probable error concerning assumptions about the college experience. The point being, that if error does exist, this may be an indicator that contemporary attitudes toward college education need refinement.

A dilemma of higher educational requirements frequently cited was originally expressed by the President's Commission itself. The Commission (1967, p. 163) observed that raising educational standards may interfere with the "concrete and immediate benefit" of being able to add an adequate number of officers with minority group backgrounds to the police ranks. The Commission went on to say that such a result cannot be permitted to occur; otherwise, the higher standards are likely to be seen by members of minority groups "as a new and subtle form of discrimination just when they are beginning to satisfy the existing standards."

Goldstein (1977, p. 294) noted a myth which exists in many college programs designed for students already in police employ. He observed that many such programs do

not, in their current form, produce the benefits that proponents of higher education for the police have had in mind.

The officers who are enrolled in them are still drawn from that portion of high school graduates who initially choose not to go on to college. The programs do not appear to bring a greater cross section of young people into police agencies. Nor do they give status to the officer who enrolls in them. By their very nature they preclude the possibility of active participation in the life of a college campus. And by setting up special classes for officers, they segregate them from the rest of the student body (Goldstein, 1977, p. 294).

Wilson (1975, pp. 126-127) contends that a blissful ignorance prevails on the part of many supporters of the college educated policemen. Quite specifically he notes that "while college may make a man civil, it also gives him (or reenforces for him) his sense of duty." Accordingly, this has led some college-trained officers to be "excessively aggressive and arrest-prone when a gentler hand might be better." Wilson does not empirically support this position nor does he take into account that the college educated officer may well have recieved his academic experience in a discipline other than criminal justice. It may be equally argued that an officer who possesses a degree in the arts, humanities, or behavioral sciences may be more prone to passivity and abstraction rather than "aggressiveness" and "sense of duty."

Other criticisms presented by Wilson appear to have more substance. For example, he states that college men may not be able to identify easily with or understand the problems of lower and working-class persons with whom much of police contact consists. Additionally, Wilson presumes that a police career is most unattractive for a college man in that "the work of a patrolman is routine, sometimes dull, frequently unpleasant, and occasionally dangerous."

Within the same frame of reference this writer postulates two pervasive derogating characteristics. First, many college educated officers possess a drive of upward mobility which is traditionally stifled in police organization. Promotions are frequently slow in developing and require a considerable time investment before they become available. Consequently, the officer becomes frustrated and leaves police service in favor of a position wherein he feels his education can serve with greater utility. Second, the near nonexistence of lateral entry into police organizations is also a defeating factor. Upon completing an undergraduate, or even graduate, degree there is little opportunity for the individual to enter an organization at a supervisory, middle management, or specialized level. It could be that in a police organization

this is an unrealistic desire, nonetheless it is characteristic of many graduates and serves as a barrier to their entering the police service. Perhaps there are the reasons that Trojanowicz and Dixon (1974, pp. 260-261) found that the "ideal education" for a patrolman was completion of the freshman year in college. This would allow a sharpening of the individual's awareness while not completely socializing him with the multiple ramifications of the educational process.

Other research has indicated that a college level education may not be retained over time and that the values and personalities of the recipients may not be significantly altered by the college experience (Matthews, 1977, p. 2). In another frequently cited study, Niederhofer (1976, p. 235) found that patrolmen with a college education display a higher degree of cynicism and a greater sense of deprivation than those with less education.

As pointed out in this section, the role of education in law enforcement is still subject to conjecture. The obvious trend is toward increased academic experience with the caveat that there are still significant issues to be weighed and applied in the race toward professionalism.

The Liberal Arts Orientation in Law Enforcement Education

Of the many issues being debated in police education, one of the most controversial is the liberal arts versus the vocational curriculum.

The vocational approach is most predominant in the community-college law enforcement programs and has received strong support from many police administrators (Goldstein, 1977, p. 294). Such support allows "the tradition-bound administrator in a convenient way to endorse college education while protecting him from change." Goldstein further points out that "in many cities the local college program is a captive of the agency, servicing it in much the same manner as an in-house training program: the agency dictates the choice of subject matter, and the orientation and operating philosophy of the agency's administrators are mirrored by the teaching staff."

The essential debate is that the vocational programs are little more than an extension of the training academy. And such a role is not commensurate to the philosophical standards of academia. The academic world encourages a slower contemplative method of problem solving, while the law enforcement community works in an action oriented environment where serious problems frequently must be solved or controlled immediately (Territo, 1976, p. 28). This is indicative of the two educational ideals promulgated by each group, however, this writer contends that the **basic philosophies** are not dichotomous. They each represent a true and accurate need to be fulfilled; the issue is the methodology employed to meet those needs. Each approach must be separated leaving

higher education free to employ a liberal arts/inter-disciplinary approach to police education: the true function of the university's existence.

The liberal arts orientation has three basic purposes:

1. To provide a basic body of knowledge in the major branches of learning—the physical sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.
2. To cultivate the skills of reasoning and communication required to attack a new problem effectively.
3. To nurture the traits of mind and spirit characteristic of those who have achieved a consistent view of themselves and the complex physical and social world in which they live (McGrath, 1959, p. 1-2)

These purposes are directly conducive to preparation for the complex nature of police responsibilities. With incorporation of the liberal arts/interdisciplinary approach in a police officer's education, the officer will gain increased knowledge and understanding of the backgrounds, problems, and motivations of persons with whom he may come into contact. "The result is that the officer may more readily recognize the importance of treating all human beings equally and compassionately" (Roberg, 1976, p. 92).

Kuykendall (1977) notes that the issue of whether Criminal Justice education should have a technical, professional, theoretical, or combined orientation is the most important curriculum development decision to be made. Historically, programs with a foundation in each of these areas have steadfastly justified their position within a framework of dichotomous, uncondescending debate. This author maintains that before an unyielding decision is made, criminal justice educators must first ascertain what the true effect on criminal justice administration higher education has and second, what directions the criminal justice system will go in the future thus mandating curricula with specific characteristics. Within this line of thought, one can see a movement toward establishing a unified, directional educational front by the efforts of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) to develop academic accreditation for the nation's criminal justice programs.

In their proposed accreditation guidelines, ACJS has observed that "criminal justice curricula must give explicit recognition to the multidisciplinary character of the field." Moreover, "criminal justice curricula should recognize the interdependence of cultural norms, traditions, and value systems and social responses to problem solving." These propositions alone indicate the belief that criminal justice education should be broad-based, directed toward a wide spectrum of phenomenon which can face the administration of criminal justice both currently

and in the future. The ACJS guidelines also note the importance of gaining input from criminal justice agency personnel in order to assure responsiveness to "real world" needs in curriculum design. A effort such as this can fill a significant void in police education. As pointed out by Sherman (1978) there is almost no consensus on the purpose of higher education for police officers or on the kind of curriculum that students oriented toward police careers should be offered.

As one peruses the literature on this issue it appears the debate is interminable. The trend, though not clear-cut, appears to be gaining momentum in favor of the academic approach with slow withdrawal of the "training model" from the college classroom. This is as it should be, for as stated by the International Association of Police Professors:

We justify the requirements of liberal arts in law enforcement education on the grounds that they contribute in ways for which no substitute has been found, to the development of men as thinking, critical, creative beings, with an awareness of their relations to the whole of mankind (Reid, 1976, p. 332).

By establishing the panoramic nature of a liberal arts education as a hinterland to the concentration curricula in criminal justice, it is hoped the goal of a well-rounded, decisive police professional will be realized.

Research in Police Education

A variety of studies on police education have yielded a panoply of results. In reviewing the literature, one finds that few conclusions can be drawn on the interaction of academia and police performance.

One of the most widely-quoted studies on the effects of police education was conducted by Smith, Locke, and Walker. They found that police who are attracted to college are less authoritarian than police who are not college oriented (Smith, et al, 1967, pp. 128-132). In viewing the impact of this study it cannot be concluded that college *per se* makes one less authoritarian, only that higher education attracts less authoritarian policemen in the first place.

Another well-known study of the Ventura, California Police asserts that Ventura's college education requirement is responsible for lower expenses, higher morale, and an almost total absence of discipline problems and citizens complaints (Geary, 1970, pp. 59-62). A problem of this study, however, is that it is based entirely upon unobtrusive measures making the significance of the results methodologically suspect.

In a study conducted by Weiner (1976, p. 453), police attitudes, particularly toward minorities, were correlated with an officers level of education. It was found that "the

more education a policeman has, the more likely he is to accept blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Italians; to approve of black protest; and to understand black demands. However, out of seventy-five possible relationships between the officers' level of education and their attitude scores, only twenty-five were statistically significant. Therefore, overall it was concluded that the educational level did not affect police attitudes.

In an extensive study by Sterling (1972) on police role concepts he found that college-oriented men showed a statistically significant higher level of aspirations although they failed to place a higher value on their education in terms of usefulness when compared to the non-college man. With respect to the value of a college education in terms of effectiveness in preparation for the job, Sterling indicated that men with a college background did not find their education a more valuable preparatory experience than did subjects with only a high school background (Sterling, 1972, p. 68). Interestingly, Gross noted that the police officer's role concept is derived from attitudes which are deeply rooted in the requirements of the job and of society; education alone, he observed, cannot change them (Gross, 1973, p. 477).

With respect to the general educational movement in law enforcement, Miller and Fry (1976, p. 196) indicated their research:

...questioned whether education can be counted on to increase professionalism, decrease work strain, and improve job satisfaction among incumbent personnel who began their careers with less demanding educational criteria in mind.

Finally, Trojanowicz and Nicholson (1976, p. 58) observed in their study that college educated officers frequently experience role conflicts and, in some instances, peer rejection on the basis of their education. The most common dissatisfactions on the job cited by the college officers included:

1. Command officers do not encourage continuing education.
2. The need for a reward system that encourages education.
3. A feeling that college graduates should be placed in specialized positions.
4. The need for lateral entry.
5. The need for more rapid promotions.
6. That time spent working on their degrees be applied toward retirement.
7. That innovation and creativity is needed in the police organization to better employ the college officers' attributes.

It is evident that the multiplicity of issues in police

education will not be resolved in the near future. Nonetheless, as progress continues in the provision of quality education and research on its impact, the true role of academic preparation for law enforcement will become more evident.

TRENDS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT EDUCATION

By viewing the development of police education and evaluating the current "state of the art" one can make some reasonable forecasts concerning new directions in police education. The Carnegie Commission Report on Higher Education (1973) predicts that the field of police service during the 1980's will be in the process of requiring higher education for admission to it and advancement within it. The report goes on to warn, however, that there will be a troublesome adjustment process related to degree requirements within agencies where the requirement has not existed before.

Lynch (1976, p. 64) foresees greater specialization in police education particularly within forensic science, criminal investigation, traffic control, and other technical and professional subjects. More specifically, Lynch states:

The curriculum should endeavor to provide a liberal education, liberal in the basic sense of liberating the individual from the particular time and place where nature and nurture have brought him. The curriculum should specifically focus on the ethical dimensions and the professional responsibility to refuse to misuse power for personal gain. Our society grants an extremely wide degree of discretion to the policeman which requires more clearly stated expectations of what services a policeman is expected to perform and how he can understand and deal with conflicts arising from that performance.

Project Star (1976, pp. 222-223) approaches the future of police education from the standpoint of professionalization. They foresee that not only will the baccalaureate degree be the standard for job entry in a law enforcement agency but also an increase in the proportion of police officers with Master's and Ph.D. degrees will be realized. Project Star goes on to speculate that such degrees should be "heavily weighted toward the social sciences" as well as an increasing emphasis at the graduate level "in such areas as the physical sciences, mathematics, statistics, research methods, and computer science."

Project Star also foresees the need to create a post-graduate school for the police noting that:

... creation of such a professional school may

seem unrealistic at the present time. It is unquestionably a long-range goal. In light of current education standards for police recruits, the main thrust of education that will lead to the postgraduate professional school is away from the quasi-military discipline of modern police training toward an increasing respect for and acceptance of scholarly and scientific disciplines as a part of the police role.

Perhaps the most concise discourse on the future of police education was laid out as a series of questions by William Mathias in Niederhoffer and Blumberg's *The Ambivalent Force* (1976, pp. 383-384). Among the speculations were:

1. Can criminal justice earn respectability from the various disciplines in the academic community? Is a national strategy advisable in working toward this goal?
2. Should criminal justice degree programs be accredited separately, as are law schools and nursing programs?
3. Will criminal justice faculty be required to possess the terminal degree prior to employment? If so, should that degree be in criminal justice or a related discipline? How important will agency experience be for faculty members in the future? What role will criminal justice faculties play in a broad-scale research effort relative to the problems of crime?
4. Will nontraditional degree programs flourish in the field to a greater extent than in other areas of study?
5. What is the future of enrollments in this field; particularly if the LEEP program is dropped?
6. Will the President's Commission Recommendation that all law enforcement officers with general arrest powers be required to have a baccalaureate degree? If so, what effect will this have on our current educational programs?
7. What will be the future degree of interaction between educators and probationers?

These and a multitude of other questions will face educators and administrators in the future. Suffice it to say, the trend appears to be guided toward increased scholastic experience for both the academician and practitioner.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has traced the history of law enforcement education from its rather vague inception to its current state. This historical perspective indicated that there is a trend toward not only increased education but also more scholarly curriculum content.

Studies have also been cited to illustrate the need of education, the impact of higher education on the working police officer, and some of the negative aspects of higher education. Based upon the weight of the research one can make a general presumption that higher education is, in fact, desirable, although one must not "write off" its detracting factors. Efforts must be made, as a future development, to remedy the negative effects of higher education.

There are obvious differences between the college educated police officer and his noncollege counterpart. The precise difference, however, is yet to be empirically determined. This appears to be the key in determining the need of police education. Perhaps once this variable is conclusively determined, role definition and structure of both the police function and higher education can be redeveloped to meet maximum performance standards and achieve professional status.

The future appears to hold an increased demand for higher education in law enforcement at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Moreover, greater specialization, particularly influenced by the applied sciences, will be integrated into the police curricula. The most optimistic forecasts call for development of post-graduate schools specifically oriented toward the Criminal Justice System. Although educational growth appears imminent for the police, nagging questions remain unanswered with respect to the true impact of academic experience on the criminal justice practitioner. Perhaps this should be our more critical concern for the future, as it is the nature of the total system where quality must be nurtured; not merely the educational statistics of the system's personnel.

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Issues and Trends in Police Professionalization

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Abstract

Professionalization of the police is a current issue of great importance. The call for professionalization of the police is not new; it can be traced back to August Vollmer and the 1931 Wickersham Commission. A series of Presidential and National Commissions have also added calls for police professionalization.

A major problem lies in the meaning of the terms so often used: professionalism, professional, professionalization. Two different meanings of these terms have evolved: one from the works of Emile Durkheim, the other from the writings of Max Weber. The current status of the police in terms of the two different views of professionalism is analysed with the basic conclusion that police cannot yet be considered as true professionals under either concept.

Overall, the approach to professionalization of the police has combined elements of both concepts. This mixture of approaches has not yet moved the police into the ranks of the professions.

The paper looks at the question: Why do police want to be recognized as professionals? The answer is discussed in two familiar forms: economics and public acceptance. Some writers state that police officers, as public service occupation members, neither can nor should become professionals. Wilson's arguments about professionalism of the police are the keystone of this discussion.

The trend in police professionalization is clearly toward professionalization. Police officers and administrators are actively seeking professional status. This trend is evidenced most clearly by the emphasis placed upon higher education and more stringent recruiting standards. Other evidence of the trend comes from research and evaluation programs aimed at improving the performance and technical knowledge of police departments.

The trend is expected to continue into the future with the first significant professionalism coming among individual police officers. These officers will be highly professional, more in the Weberian sense than the Durkheimian. The trend toward a "pure" profession will be much slower and may never be realized. It is suggested that regionalization of police departments would assist in the move toward professionalization.

The legitimate claim of police officers for striving toward professionalization is recognized and it is in the interests of all that the goal be reached. The costs will be high, but until we are willing to pay that cost, we will have neither professional police nor the benefits of such professionalism.

Professionalization Of The Police

In contemporary America among those who work at a chosen vocation, there is no higher praise than to be called a "professional". The ideal of every occupational group is to achieve the status and prestige of a "profession". The concept of professionalism is among the first to be applied as a remedy to the weaknesses and ills of any occupational group. The police are no exception. Simi-

larly to many other occupational groups, the police have actively sought professional status. The police desires for professionalization have been speeded by the calls of both critics and advocates of the police for police professionalization.

The police occupation can be likened to an adolescent. It is self-conscious, worrying about its appearance. Police

strike poses and adopt strategies and tactics in an attempt to establish an identity (Manning, 1971). The identity of the police is a product of historical trends, current situational influences, and the complexity and dilemmas of the nature of police work.

The issue of police professionalization is multifaceted. Among the questions often asked are: Are the police professional? In what ways do police resemble professionals? How do they differ from professionals? Why do police seek the label professional? Is it possible for police to become professionals? Is it desirable? Can the concept of professional be applied to a public service agency like the police? This paper will attempt to explore some of these areas and issues. It will also try to identify the trends in police professionalization.

The Expressed Need

The call for police professionalization is not a recent phenomenon. The National Commission on Law Observation and Enforcement, better known as the Wickersham Commission, identified the lack of training and professional attitudes as one of the causes of police corruption (1931). August Vollmer, the dean of modern American police administrators, was the first to apply the concept of professionalism to his model police department in Berkeley, California during the 1920's. In 1937, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) formed a committee to formulate recommendations for "professionalizing" police work. In their recommendations, the Committee on the Professionalization of Police stressed the need for training, education, and the development of a code of ethics (1939).

These earlier statements of need for police professionalization were echoed in more recent years by a series of special commissions created to study a variety of different issues. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, often referred to as the President's Crime Commission, recommended:

The ultimate aim of police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees (p. 279). ... Police departments should take immediate steps to establish a minimum requirement of a baccalaureate degree for all supervisory and executive positions (1967, p. 280).

While these recommendations were not, in themselves, wrapped in the cloak of "professionalism", the general tone of the entire police section of the report called for measures that closely resemble the professional model first posed by Vollmer.

The Police Task Force of the President's Crime Com-

mission expanded the concept of professionalism for police beyond higher education:

The failure to establish high professional standards for the police service has been a costly one, both for the police and for society. Existing selection requirements in the majority of departments, aside from physical requirements, do not screen out the unfit. ... It is essential, therefore, that the requirements to serve in law enforcement reflect the awesome responsibility facing the personnel that is selected (1967, pp. 125-126).

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1967) and the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1968) highlighted the significance of police actions and lack of professionalization and recommended actions to upgrade police functions. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) and The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1971) also focused attention on police professionalization. The latter Commission's Police Task Force noted:

Police agencies have lost ground in the race for highly qualified employees because they have not raised standards. College graduates look elsewhere for employment. ... It is ironic that this is taking place today when studies are showing that police officers with a college background generally perform significantly better than police officers without a degree. Upgrading the educational level of police officers is one of the most important challenges facing the service. There are few professions today that do not require a college degree. Police, in their quest for greater professionalism, should take notice (1973, p. 367).

The common thread throughout the various Commissions' reports ranging from the Wickersham Commission to the Standards and Goals Commission has been one of a perceived need for professional police officers.

Police science literature has similarly been replete with declarations, justifications, pleas and demands for professionalization of the police officers and the police departments of this country. Vollmer (1936) was the most influential of the earlier proponents of professionalism. Since Vollmer first drew concentrated attention to the problem, it has been difficult to find a single issue of a police science or police related journal that does not contain at least one article on police professionalization. A full review of that literature is far beyond the scope of this paper, although some of the more pertinent writings are listed in the footnotes.¹

While the police science and criminal justice literature has concentrated on the need for police professionalization, there have been few efforts in that literature to define professionalism or professionalization in terms of the unique status of the police in a modern, democratic society. Almost all literature in the police journals on police professionalization assumes that the concept of professional is clearly understood by all, and even more importantly, is clearly an attainable goal for the police. In order to understand the complexities involved in the concepts of professionalism, it is necessary to borrow from the sociological literature.

The Concept of Professional

Sociologists have long studied the fields of occupational and professional work. Smigel (1954) reported that 58 per cent of all studies in the period 1946 to 1952 dealing with work were devoted to the professions. The interest among sociologists has arisen from many causes, the primary one being that sociologists view the process of professionalization and the concept of professions as central to the study of social action and social change and social structure (Parsons, 1964). Present day sociologists are not alone in their interest. Many of the currently accepted concepts and constructs in the study of the professions originated with the pioneers of sociology.

In sociology, there are two major themes concerning the concept of professionalization: one stressing the construct of professional values and ideals and the other emphasizing the concept of competence in one's work. Emile Durkheim is rightfully recognized as the originator of the first view of professionalism and Max Weber of the second. The two themes have become enmeshed in our understanding of what a professional is, or should be. For that reason, it is worthwhile to briefly review the seminal concepts.

Durkheim's development of a model of "moral community" as representative of the professional association, or "guilds" of his day, started with his basic proposition that society is a moral phenomenon. He arrived at this proposition through his analyses of human actions that revealed that such actions could not be understood if they were separated from a system of ultimate values and ideals. These values, according to Durkheim, are independent in that they were separated from each other, they both stand alone, and they are not the means to some other ends. Thus human actions are inseparably intermingled with values and ideals and one who wishes to be a part of the moral community must organize his own values and ideals to those of the community.

Although Durkheim did not develop the idea of professionalism in depth, he did point out that the "professions should become ... moral milieu ... and should constantly foster the morality of the professions" (Ruitenbeek, 1963). Durkheim further applied the principle of moral bases of

profession by suggesting that the truly professional association, or guild, should be authorized to actively enter into the personal lives of its members, in order to provide the direction and regulation of their morals to fit those of the association. Durkheim thus became the first to view professionals as members of a selected group with a mandate to assist the other members of their society. His "moral milieu" became the forerunner of today's code of ethics and professional ethics.²

Max Weber saw professionals in an entirely different light, proposing that professionals were bureaucrats (or bureaucrats were professionals, if you prefer) who earned the title through the exhibition of rational, logical competence and efficiency. Weber viewed professional execution of one's duties as the mark of the professional and stressed the ideal of such professional execution as being "without regard to person, in accordance with calculable rules". Weber saw values as highly individual and rationally derived, to the degree that in his concept of *Wertrationalitat*, a clearly given value is put into practice by the most effective practical means, completely disregarding the effect on other values or the costs of the practice of that value. Thus values become the result of ends-means analysis, and it is within the framework of bureaucracy, the most logical and rational means of organizing for the desired ends, that professionals develop. And if they are to be truly professional, they must be technically competent, logical and rational.³

These two differing views of what a professional should be are still with us today, unfortunately, without clear delineations of meaning or general acceptance of either view. One author may speak of "professionalization" of the police with the clear, at least to himself, concept of better equipped, more highly trained, technically competent, efficient police officers. A second author may use the same phrase, professionalization of the police, to denote a totally different meaning - that of an occupational group with certain distinctive characteristics and values. The two meanings are neither inclusive nor exclusive. Neither is a more valid conception than the other. The difficulties arise from misunderstandings of the intended meaning of the phrase "professionalization of the police". Unless the originator of the communications using this phrase clearly defines his meaning, the readers will continue to draw differing views of individual meaning. That difficulty is the central focus of the issue of professionalization in the police and the ultimate resolution of that difficulty will direct the trends toward professionalization in the years ahead.

Despite the concentration on professions in the field of sociology, there is still no clear cut, commonly accepted definition of "professionalism". A large percentage of the sociological literature has struggled with the definition of profession (Ritzer, 1973). The most pervasive efforts have attempted to distinguish the unique characteristics of a

profession from a non-profession. As a result there are a number of "shopping lists" of professional characteristics.

Greenwood (1957) listed five attributes of a profession and generally defined the concept as:

... an organized group which is constantly interacting with the society that forms its matrix, which performs its social functions through a network of formal and informal relationships, and which creates its own subculture requiring adjustments to it as a prerequisite for career success. ... Succinctly put all professions seem to possess: (1) systematic theory, (2) authority, (3) community sanction, (4) ethical codes, and (5) a culture (p. 45).

Barber (1963) lists four attributes or characteristics, while Goode (1961) feels there are only two. Despite the apparent contradictions, all of these scholars have looked at the characteristics that differentiate the professional from the non-professional (Ritzer, 1973). A slightly different approach was taken by Hall (1968) who views professions as having a two tiered structure, a structure having both individual and occupational levels of professionalization.

What has emerged from the sociological perspective of profession is an elaborate ideal or typical paradigm of professions and non-professions that provide a measurement scheme for examining occupational work groups and understanding the degree to which occupations exhibit these characteristics (Pavalko, 1972). These characteristics are distributed along a continuum, ranging from the completely professional to the fully non-professional. Consequently the distinctions between professionals and nonprofessionals are basically differences of degree and not of kind (Pavalko, 1971).

A composite listing of characteristics of a profession has been compiled from the various studies. The list contains the more clearly defined and stated characteristics in the literature.

1. A profession has a systematic theory and body of knowledge.
2. The profession has well developed codes of ethics that are followed by its members.
3. The profession has the sanction of the community to perform its services.
4. The profession has authority to impose its values on members and to conduct its services.
5. The profession has autonomy, regulating itself, and largely self-defining its role.
6. The profession deals with problems that are highly relevant to the overall society.
7. A profession is characterized by altruistic service to others, as opposed to self-aggrandizement.
8. The profession has responsibility, primarily for its use of authority, discretion, self-control and individual responsiveness of its practitioners.

9. The profession is bounded by a sense of occupational and professional identity.

10. The profession develops a culture of its own, involving social boundaries, common values, both social and occupational, and agrees on appropriate roles, both for its members and non-members.

11. The members have a deep personal investment in the profession through lengthy education and training.

12. The profession has self selection and recruitment of future members and generations.

13. The profession is characterized by high mobility within the profession and very limited out-mobility.

14. Professional associations are formed to regulate, promote, and direct the profession's growth, development and evolution.⁴

There are other standards that could have been included in this list. However, these should suffice as a representative sample for our purpose. By applying these standards to the police occupation, we can see how the police resemble a profession and how they differ from a profession.

The Current State of Police Professionalism

It is clear that in many areas the police now qualify very well as a profession. First, they have a large body of knowledge and at least some steps have been taken toward a systematic theoretic basis for police work. Every police department of any size in the country has a code of ethics that is included in the departmental rules and regulations. Police have both the sanction of the community and the authority to perform services. We can all readily agree that police services are highly relevant to the overall society and that those services are altruistic. The police occupation has a sense of occupational identity and its own culture. Police also have professional associations which, to some degree, fulfill the qualifications for a profession.

There are other areas where the police position is less clear. Police have responsibility to use their authority, discretion and self-control to service others. However, the recent trends in policing have been away from autonomy, with community review boards and political appointees involved in the regulation of the police. The police role is largely not self-defined. While it is true that many members of the police have deep personal investments in training and education, this is not true of many, perhaps a majority, of the members of the police.

Still other areas are clearly not characteristic of the police today. The police profession itself has little or no self-selection and recruitment of future members and future generations. There is no standard for entrance into the police field across all departments in the country. Aside from minimum age standards, few of the other standards follow any pattern. Perhaps the weakest area of

all is that of standard 13 above. The police have almost no mobility within the profession. Lateral entry is so rare as to be almost nonexistent. Despite years of experience and training, a police officer is not free to move into other departments. In fact, because of the varying standards, he may not even qualify for a job in a neighboring city despite a long record of outstanding service in his own city.

By these measurements and considerations, the police do not qualify as a profession in the sense of that term used by sociological writers. While this review of the characteristics is cursory and subjective, it arrives at the same conclusions seen in the literature.

While there is still some debate, most of the authorities agree that the police occupation has yet to achieve the status of a true profession (Ayres, 1975; Juris & Feuille, 1973; Pavalko, 1971; among others). A symposium held by the International Association of Chiefs of Police maintained that the police occupation is a semi-profession, lying somewhere between the true professions and the non-professions. This evaluation was based upon the general lack of professional training and the failure of all members of the occupation to ascribe to a common system of ethics and code of conduct (National Symposium on Police Labor Relations, 1974).

The Weberian view of professionalism is more closely related to efficient, effective and technically competent police work than to any list of characteristics and attributes. James Q. Wilson (1970) contended that the type, degree and style of police service provided to a community were derived from community standards, needs and expressed desires. According to Wilson, the style of policing limited the options of the police force and to some degree forced the individual officers to conform to predetermined standards that were not basically compatible with the officer's perceptions of his role. In such conditions, professionalism becomes purely a technical description used to convey the sense of compliance with standards. Under such a limited definition, police can be considered professionals in many departments.

Other writers have viewed a professional police department as one free of politics and responsive to the needs of the entire community. Juris and Feuille talk of a professional led department as "one in which efficiency and managerial rationality are emphasized to the exclusion (or attempted exclusion) of politics" (1976).

Overall, the approach to professionalization by the police has combined elements of both concepts. On the one hand, the police have attempted to increase their professionalization through increased technology, more and better equipment, and better training of their officers. On the other, they have attempted to achieve professionalization by raising educational standards, increasing both pre-service and in-service training, and attempting to increase their efficiency (Trojanowicz & Dixon, 1975). This mixture of professionalism approaches has not yet moved the police into the ranks of the professions (Oster-

loh, 1975), nor has it greatly increased the public's perceptions of the police officer in terms of prestige and acceptance (Clift, 1973).

Motives for Professionalism

A pertinent question about the issue and trends of police professionalization deals with the motives of the police in seeking professional status. Why do the police want to be professionals? It seems to me that the answer to that question takes two forms. First, the police see the obvious benefits in terms of prestige, status, and economic advantage held by those members of the professions. Secondly, the police officers recognize that professional status would greatly help in achieving a public perception of the police that would differ from that today.

The first of these two reasons is fairly self-explanatory. While police are under no illusions that a professional police officer would earn the same benefits as a lawyer or doctor, he certainly expects to move from the present position he holds today on the economic scale. Police work is similar to "blue-collar" occupations in many ways, including the pay scales. The police officer, who fully understands the value of his services to the society at large, seeks a more proportionate share of the rewards.

The second area is less clear. The problem revolves around basically different perceptions of the police role in our society. Consider for example:

The policeman is faced with many dilemmas, to say the least. He is expected to enforce laws toward the "next guy"; to be honest yet take a bribe when we are personally involved; to use force against deviants but not against us; and without resources or support to eradicate crime. The public has not yet made up its mind that it wants police. (Trojanowicz & Dixon, 1974).

One more example will help to illustrate the issue:

All in all, it is a pretty tough job being a cop. Among other things, he's got to be part priest, part sociologist, part lawyer, part arbitrator, part philosopher, and even part politician. At times he has to have the cunning and strength of a lion while at other times he has to have the gentleness of the proverbial lamb, and while he must work with people who see him as an arm of fascist oppression as well as people who see him as a Messiah. All he really wants is to be seen as a man doing the best he can at the very difficult job of being a cop in our society. (Kuenster, 1970, p. 2).

The police officer is caught in a dilemma: he views

himself as a professional dedicated to helping the citizens of his community and the same citizens look down on him (Kroes, 1976). Police face this type of reaction off-duty as well as on-duty. In addition his wife and children see the same reactions. A prominent police psychologist outlined this problem: "They consider their function as helping the public, and therefore, they become upset and confused when they find themselves as a part of a group that is feared, disliked, hated, or even assaulted in the performance of those services" (Symonds, 1972, p. 168). The solution to this dilemma is viewed as professionalization. Since physicians and lawyers and other professionals are respected and admired, the association of professional and respect and admiration is made. If police were professionals, they would be respected and admired, so the thinking goes. The concept of professionalization of police is tied closely to these feelings.

Perhaps the most cogent question of all in dealing with the subject asks: can police become professionals? There are those who proclaim that the very concept of a profession and public service are incompatible ideals. Reiss (1971) points out that almost all police departments are organized following the bureaucratic model and that bureaucracies "threaten the autonomy" of police officers. The difficulties that come from the bureaucratic organization include:

An officer is denied, in his work setting, the basic freedoms and values which it is his job to protect and defend in the larger community. ... The fact that a police officer does not have the freedom of a professional to exercise the judgment and to use discretion detracts from efforts to characterize the police as a profession (Institute of Judicial Administration, 1972).

Ritzer also contends that bureaucratic organization hinders development of professionalism: "... occupations which are directly responsible to the organization are least likely to allow an individual to behave in a professional manner." (1973, p. 71).

The debate over police professionalization often turns to questions of art versus science and professional versus craftsman. Some contend that police are craftsmen rather than professionals. Others claim that being a police officer is an art and that no manner of training will teach that art. These claims are more often heard from those with no interest in police professionalization. That the police are craftsmen in many aspects of their work should be evident; that they are artists in others is beyond debate. Nevertheless, the issues still come up from time to time in the literature.

A far more pertinent question is whether or not the police should become professionals. James Q. Wilson (1963) pointed out that not only was it unlikely that the

police would gain professional status, that it was likely that such professionalization might well be dysfunctional for police and society alike. Wilson pointed out that the political climate in the major cities was not conducive to increased expenditures on police and professional police officers. Additionally, he contends that a truly professional police force could only exist in large cities as part of a "set of political and civic institutions of a certain character" (p. 215). He goes on to say:

... professionalism may depend on giving over the government to nonpartisan officials sustained by nonpartisan elites, but these arrangements may be held objectionable... Police professionalization is part of a "package"; its advantages and disadvantages cannot be assessed apart from those of the package as a whole. (p. 215)

Another argument against police professionalization is directed to the public service role of the police. If a professional owes allegiance to his profession first, he should not be part of a public service organization is how the argument usually is presented. The police role is not to advise or to arbitrate, it is to restrain (Wilson, 1970). In a public service role, the police officer must be concerned primarily with those he serves rather than with his own interests and motives. Wilson argues that "professionalism among policemen will differ from professionalism in other occupations in that the primary function of the professional code will be to protect the practitioner from the client rather than the client from the practitioner" (p. 217).

Trends in Police Professionalization

The trend in police occupational groups today is clearly toward professionalization. Police officers and administrators, supported by voluminous literature and advice, are actively seeking professional status. This trend is not unique to the police in modern American society; numerous occupations are striving for recognition as professionals. Wilensky summed up the trend in America in his article titled "The Professionalization of Everyone?" (1964).

The police movement toward professionalization is evidenced most clearly by the increased emphasis on higher education for police officers and police administrators. This increased education has resulted largely from educational funds and incentives made possible through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Through its Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP), LEAA has funded a large portion of the police education programs and students since 1969.

The trend is also evidenced in research and evaluation programs aimed at improving the organizational structure

of police departments and increasing the technical knowledge of those departments. A continuing drive is underway to discover the "best" ways to enforce laws, to detect crime, and to apprehend criminals, as well as ways to improve the myriad other components of the police role.

The trend will continue into the future with the first significant signs of professionalization among the individual police officers. We will increasingly see highly professional officers, highly professional in the Weberian sense, and less professional in the sociological sense of the term. Individual officers will continue to seek higher education in increasingly large numbers (Project Star, 1976).

The trend toward a "pure" profession will be much slower, and perhaps, will never be achieved. That is not to say that the police will cease to strive for a profession; just that the difference in requirements for individual professionalism are much easily achieved than those for an entire occupational group. If, and that is the critical word, the police forces in this country begin a process of consolidation and merger into regional forces, then occupational group professionalization will be more easily achieved.

Police work requires professional officers who are technically competent, well trained, and who have a broad generalist education. These professional officers might best be described as professional craftsmen, able and fully capable of handling the many tasks of the police in a competent and professional manner.

Conclusions

Police officers today are not professionals and police occupational groups do not qualify under the classical term of profession. The trend toward such professionalization is clearly seen. Police officers will continue to strive for individual professionalism, even as their organizations strive for professional standing. It is unlikely that the latter goal will be achieved in the near future. Individual professionalism is much more likely.

In order for police to become professionals, the police organizational structure will require significant changes, changing from the semi-military, bureaucratic organization in the vogue today. The police role in our society will also require definition and reduction. We cannot expect the police to perform all of the tasks we currently assign to them. The society itself will have to agree to alternative services for many of those tasks and provide for the organizations to conduct the needed services. The individual members of our society must decide that they want police and then support the police in fulfilling the assigned functions. The police officer must earn and keep the respect of the average citizen.

Police have a legitimate claim for striving toward a goal of professionalism and it is in the interests of all that they reach that goal. The costs will be high, both in terms of changes and in further technological advances, but the benefits to our society will far outweigh those costs. Until we are prepared to pay the costs, we will not have professional police and the benefits of such professionalism.

Footnotes

¹See for examples: Ashenhurst, 1959; Ayres, 1975; Brerton, 1955, 1961; Brown, 1963; Chackerian, 1974; Decotis & Kochan, 1974; Jameson, 1966; Goldstein, 1967; Niederhoffer, 1969; Rodenberry, 1953; Sloane, 1954; Tamm, 1965; Wilson, 1963.

²The discussion of Durkheim's view of profession is drawn largely from Parsons, 1937 & 1939; Barnes, 1948; Ruitensbeek, 1963; Merton, 1957; and Etzioni, 1968.

³The brief discussion of Max Weber's concept of profession is primarily from his *On Law in Economy and Soci-*

ety (1967 Clarion Book edition) and Etzioni, 1968. Parsons, 1937, 1939 and Merton, 1957 also discuss Weber. Gerth and Mills, 1953, also provided valuable information.

⁴The compilation of attributes and characteristics of a profession are drawn from a number of sources, including: Goode, 1957; Greenwood, 1957; Friedman, 1973; Hall, 1968; Hughes, 1967; Lynn, 1967; Moore, 1970; Pavalko, 1971, 1972; Ritzer, 1972, 1973; Vollmer & Mills, 1966; and Whitehead, 1948.

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